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ARTICLE II.

TWO INSCRIPTIONS

PERTAINING TO THE

PARAMÁRA RULERS OF MÁLAVA:

THE SANSKRIT, WITH TRANSLATIONS AND REMARKS.

BY FITZ-EDWARD HALL, D.C.L.

Presented to the Society October 17, 1860.

THOUGH the kings mentioned in the memorials¹ under notice have already been made known to the world, yet the statements which have been put forth concerning their connection and succession require to be rectified. Their names are subjoined. The comments which have been suggested with reference to them, as being by-matter, are added in the form of notes.

Bhoja Deva.

Udayáditya Deva.²

Naravarma Deva.

Yas'ovarman Deva.

Ajayavarman.³

Vindhyavarman.

Subhataavarman.

Arjunavarman Deva. A.D. 1211-1215.

Devapála Deva was reigning, as I have brought to light in another paper, in the year 1353 of our era, at Dhārā. This city had been the royal seat of the last Bhoja, about three hundred years before; and likewise that of Yas'ovarman, in 1143. Jayavarman dates one edict from Vardhamānapura;⁴ and Arjuna publishes another at Mandapa.⁵ But these two places may have served only for temporary residence.⁶

The copper-plates containing the following inscriptions are deposited in the library of the Begum's school at Sehore in Bhopal, where I examined them in February of last year.

INSCRIPTION No. I.

ओम् । नमः पुरुषार्थचूडामणये धर्माय ।

प्रतिबिम्बनिभाद् भूमेः कृत्वा साक्षात् प्रतिग्रहम् ।
जगदाकृष्टयन् दिश्याद् द्विजेन्द्रो मङ्गलानि वः ॥१॥
जीयात् परश्रुरामो ऽसौ क्षत्रैः क्षुषं रणाकृतैः ।
सन्ध्यार्कबिम्बमेवोर्वीदातुर्यस्यैति ताम्रताम् ॥२॥
येन मन्दोदरीबाष्पवारिभिः शमितो मृधे ।
प्राणेश्वरीवियोगाग्निः स रामः श्रेयसे ऽस्तु वः ॥३॥
भीमेनाऽपि धृता मूर्ध्नि यत्पादाः स युधिष्ठिरः ।
वंशाद्येनेन्दुना जीयात् स्वतुल्य इव निर्मितः ॥४॥
परमारकुलोत्तंसः कंसजिन्महिमा नृपः ।
श्रीभोजदेव इत्यासीन् ना सीरक्रान्तभूतलः ॥५॥
यद्यश्चन्द्रिकोद्योते दिगुत्सङ्गतरङ्गिते ।
द्विषन्नृपयशःपुञ्जपुण्डरीकैर्निमीलितम् ॥६॥
ततो ऽभूदुदयादित्यो नित्योत्साहैककौतुकी ।
असाधारणवीरश्रीरश्रीहेतुर्विरोधिनाम् ॥७॥
महाकलकल्पान्ते यस्योद्दामभिराश्रुगैः ।
कति नोन्मूलितास्तुङ्गा भूभृतः कटकोल्बणाः ॥८॥
तस्माच् हिन्नद्विषन्मर्मा नरवर्मा नराधिपः ॥
धर्माभ्युद्धरणे धीमानभूत् सीमा महीभुजाम् ॥९॥

प्रतिप्रभातं विप्रेभ्यो दत्तैर्ग्रामपदैः स्वयम् ।
 अनेकपदतां निन्ये धर्मा येनैकपादपि ॥१०॥
 तस्याज्जनि यशोवर्मा पुत्रः क्षत्रियशेखरः ।
 तस्मादजयवर्माऽभूद् जयश्रीविश्रुतः सुतः ॥११॥
 तत्सूनुर्वीरिमूर्धन्यो धन्योत्पत्तिरजायत ।
 गुर्जरौच्छेदनिर्वन्धी विन्ध्यवर्मा महाभुजः ॥१२॥
 धारयोद्धृतया सार्धं दधाति स्म त्रिधारताम् ।
 सांयुगीनस्य यस्याऽसिस्त्रातुं लोकत्रयीमिव ॥१३॥
 तस्याऽऽमुष्यायणाः पुत्रः सुत्रामश्रीरथाऽशिषत् ।
 भूपः सुभटवर्मेति धर्मे तिष्ठन् महीतलम् ॥१४॥
 यस्य ज्वलति दिग्जेतुः प्रतापस्तपनद्युतेः ।
 दावाग्निच्छन्ननाऽद्याऽपि गर्जन् गुर्जरपत्तने ॥१५॥
 देवभूयं गते तस्मिन् नन्दनो ऽर्जुनभूपतिः ।
 दोक्षा धत्ते ऽधुना धात्रीवल्लयं वल्लयं यथा ॥१६॥
 बाललीलाकृते यस्य जयसिंहे पलायिते ।
 दिक्पालरुहासव्याजेन यशो दिक्षु विजृम्भितम् ॥१७॥
 काव्यगान्धर्वसर्वस्वनिधिना येन साम्प्रतम् ।
 भारवतारणं देव्याश्चक्रे पुस्तकवीणयोः ॥१८॥
 येन त्रिविधवीरेण त्रिधा पल्लवितं यशः ।
 धवलत्वं दधुस्त्रीणि जगन्ति कथमन्यथा ॥१९॥

स एष नरनायकः सर्वाभ्युदयी पगाराप्रतिजागरणके
नर्मदोत्तरकूले कृथिणावरग्रामे पूर्वराजदत्तावशिष्टायां
भूमौ समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणोत्तरान् प्रति निवासि-
पटुकिलजनपदादींश्च बोधयति ।

अस्तु वः संविदितं यथा श्रीमदमरेश्वरतीर्थावस्थितैर-
स्माभिर्द्विसप्तत्यधिकद्वादशशतसंवत्सरे भाद्रपदपौर्णमास्यां
चन्द्रोपरागपर्वणि रेवाकपिलयोः सङ्गमे स्नात्वा भगवन्तं
भवानीपतिमोङ्कारं लक्ष्मीपतिं चक्रस्वामिनं चाञ्ज्यर्च्य
संसारस्याऽसारतां दृष्ट्वा । तथाहि ।

वाताभ्रविभ्रममिदं वसुधाधिपत्यम्

आपातमात्रमधुरो विषयोपभोगः ।

प्राणास्तृणायज्ञलबिन्दुसमा नराणां

धर्मः सखा परमहो परलोकयाने ॥

इति सर्वं विमृश्याऽदृष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्य मुक्तावस्थूस्था-
नविनिर्गताय वाजसनेयशाखाध्यायिने काश्यपगोत्राय
काश्यपावत्सारनैध्रुवेतित्रिप्रवराया ऽवसथिकदेल्हप्रपौ-
त्राय पण्डितसोमदेवपौत्राय पण्डितजैत्रसिंहपुत्राय पुरो-
हितपण्डितश्रीगोविन्दशर्मणे ब्राह्मणाय भूमिरियं च-
तुःकङ्कठविशुद्धा सवृक्षमालाकुला सहिरण्यभागभोगा
सोपरिकरघटादायलवणादयेत्यादिसर्वादायसमेता सनि-

धिनिक्षेपा मातापित्रोरात्मनश्च पुण्यघशोभिवृद्धये चन्द्रा-
र्काणवक्षितिसमकालं यावत् पर्या भक्त्या शासनेनो-
दकपूर्वं प्रदत्ता ।

तन् मत्वा तन्निवासिपट्टकिलजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभागभो-
गकरहिरण्यादिकमाज्ञाविधेयैर्भूत्वा सर्वमनुष्मै शतव्यम् ।

सामान्यं चैतत्पुण्यफलं बुधाऽस्मदंशजैरन्यैरपि भावि-
भोक्तृभिरस्मत्प्रदत्तधर्मादायो ऽयमनुमत्तव्यः पालनीयश्च ।

उक्तं च ।

बहुभिर्वसुधा भुक्ता राजभिः सगरादिभिः ।

यस्य यस्य यदा भूमिस्तस्य तस्य तदा फलम् ॥१॥

स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा यो हरेत वसुन्धराम् ।

स विष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सह मज्जति ॥२॥

सर्वानेवं भाविनो भूमिपालान्

भूयो भूयो याचते रामचन्द्रः ।

सामान्यो ऽयं धर्मसेतुर्नराणां

काले काले पालनीयो भवद्भिः ॥३॥

इति कमलदलाम्बुबिन्दुलोलां

श्रियमनुचित्य मनुष्यजीवितं च ।

सकलमिदमुदाहृतं च बुधा

न हि पुरुषैः परकीर्तयो विलोप्याः ॥४॥ इति ।

संवत् १२७२ भाद्रपदसुदि १५ बुधे । द्व । श्रीमु ३ ।
 रचितमिदं महासान्धिं राजासलखणासम्भतेन राज-
 गुरुणा मदनेन ।
 स्वहस्तो ज्यं महाराजश्रीमर्जुनवर्मदेवस्य ।
 उत्कीर्णं पं बाप्यदेवेन ।

TRANSLATION.

Om ! Glory to Virtue, the frontlet-gem of the *four* human ends!⁷

1. May the Lord of the twice-born—gladdener of the world, from notoriously occupying the earth, in being as it were a shadow—bestow on you prosperity.⁸

2. May he, Paras'urāma, be exalted ; penetrated by the Kshatras slain, in strife, by whom, *in order to become* donor of the earth to *Bráhmans*, the disk of the rising and declining sun has permanently acquired a coppery hue.⁹

3. May Rāma—who, in battle, allayed, with the water of Mandodari's tears, the fire of severance from the mistress of his life—be of *avail* for your welfare.

4. May Yudhisṭhira be triumphant : whose feet even Bhíma placed upon his head, and whom the founder of his race, the moon, framed, so to speak, in the similitude of himself, *for gentleness*.¹⁰

5. There was a sovereign, the auspicious Bhojadeva : the ornament of the Paramāra lineage ; in glory, a Kansajit ;¹¹ a man whose ploughs overpassed the face of the earth ;¹²

6. The moonlight of whose fame having irradiated the undulating ridges of the quarters, the lilies of the abundant renown of hostile princes became closed.¹³

7. From him sprang Udayāditya ; whose sole delight was constant enterprise ; of peculiar felicity as a champion ; *and* a source of infelicity to *his* antagonists ;

8. By whose arrows, discharged in fierce destructive war, how many lofty monarchs, formidable with armies, were not extirpated !¹⁴

9. Of him was born King Naravarman : who clove the vital parts of *his* enemies ; sagacious in sustaining virtue ; the limit of princes ;¹⁵

10. Who, by shares¹⁶ of villages which he, every morning, himself bestowed upon Bráhmans, rendered Virtue, one-footed as it was, multiplied.

11. Of him a son was born, Yas'ovarman, the frontlet of Kshatriyas. From him issued a son, Ajayavarman; renowned for *his* conquests and fortune.

12. Vindhavarman was born as his son; at the head of heroes, of well-omened birth, zealous in the extinction of the Gurjaras,¹⁷ long-armed.

13. Of whom, skilled in warfare, the sword, with its edge up-raised,¹⁸ as if to deliver the three worlds, assumed a triple edge.

14. Subsequently, his high-born¹⁹ son, King Subhatavarman, affluent as Sutráman, persevering in religious duties, incited the earth to *their observance*:

15. Of whom, conqueror of the directions, of sun-like lustre, the splendor, as it were a forest-fire, even to this day blazes, resounding, in Pattana²⁰ of the Gurjaras.

16. He having attained apotheosis,²¹ *his* son, King Arjuna, now sustains, with *his* arm, the circuit of the earth, like a bracelet:²²

17. Whose celebrity—since Jayasinha²³ took to flight in the war of his juvenile diversions—as it had been the laughter of the custodians of the quarters, extended in *all* directions:

18. Who, a repository of the entire wealth of poesy and song, fitly relieved the goddess Saraswatí of the burthen of *her* volumes and *her* lute.

19. Who, possessing three descriptions of combatants,²⁴ spread abroad *his* renown as threefold. Else, how have the three worlds acquired *their* whiteness?²⁵

The same, a sovereign exalted above all, in respect of the land, remaining over and beyond that bestowed by former princes, in the village of Hathinávāra, on the north bank of the Narmadá, in the district²⁶ of Pagará, gives notice to²⁷ all imperial officers, to Bráhmans—the eminent,²⁸ to the local village head-men,²⁹ to *his* people, and to others,—

Be it known to you as follows: By us, sojourning at the holy station of the blessed Amares'wara,³⁰ after bathing at the junction³¹ of the Revá and Kapilá, at the sacred season of an eclipse of the moon, at its full in Bhádrapada, in the year twelve hundred and seventy-two, *and* after worshipping the adorable lord of Bhavání,³² Onkára,³³ the consort of Lakshmí, and the master of the discus;³⁴ considering the vanity of the world, as thus *set forth*:—

⁴ Unstable as the storm-cloud is this *delusive* primacy of earth. Sweet for only the fleeting moment is the fruition of objects of sense. Like a water-drop on the tip of a spear of grass is the vital breath of men. Ah! virtue is the sole attendant on the journey of the other world:³⁵—

Reflecting on all this, *and* electing spiritual recompense ; has, from *motives* of the greatest piety,³⁶ with preliminary *presentation* of water, been granted, by patent ; for enhancement of the merit and renown of our mother, our father, and of ourself ; for duration coexistent with the moon, the sun, the seas, and the earth ; to the family priest, the learned and auspicious Govinda S'arman, a Bráhmaṇ ; settled at the place called Muktvásthú ;³⁷ student of the Vájasaneyya subdivision of the *Veda* ;³⁸ of the stock of Kasyapa,³⁹ and of the three branches, Kasyapa, A'vatsára, and Naidhruva ; son of the learned Jaitrasinha, grandson of the learned Somadeva, *and* great grandson of Delha, maintainer of a perpetual fire ;⁴⁰ this land ; of which the four boundaries are defined ;⁴¹ filled with fields containing trees ;⁴² together with money-rent, share of produce, house-tax,⁴³ ferry-tolls, impost on salt, and all other the like dues ; *and* with its hidden treasure and deposits.

Mindful hereof, the resident head man of this *village*, and our subjects *dwelling here*, being observant of our behests, will deliver to him, *Govinda S'arman*, all *charges*, as they fall to be paid ; *namely*, share of produce, taxes, rent in cash, and so forth.

Moreover, knowing the requital of this meritorious act to be common, the coming occupants of our *title*, born in our line, or strangers, should admit and uphold this virtuous donation by us assigned.⁴⁴

And it has been said :

1. By numerous kings, Sagara and others, the earth has been enjoyed. Whosoever, *for custody*, at any time, has been the soil, his, at that time, has been the fruit of *even the previous bestowment* thereof.⁴⁵

2. He who resumes land, given by himself or given by another, transformed to a worm in ordure, grovels *there* with his ancestors.⁴⁶

3. Thus does Rámachandra again and again conjure all these *and* future protectors of the glebe : ' Universal to men is this bridge of good works, *liberality*, and to be guarded, by you, from age to age.'

4. Reckoning,⁴⁷ accordingly, good fortune and human life to be as uncertain as a bead of water on the petal of a lotos, and conscious⁴⁸ that all this is appositely propounded, of a surety it behoves not men to cut short the repute of others.

Done in the year 1272, on the fifteenth of the light fortnight of Bhádrapada, on Wednesday.⁴⁹

This *was* executed by Madana, the king's spiritual adviser, with the approbation of Rájásalakhana,⁵⁰ chief minister of peace and war.⁵¹

This *is* the autograph of the great king, the auspicious Arjunavarma Deva.

Engraved by Bápyadeva, clerk.

INSCRIPTION No. II.⁵²

* * * * *

स एष नरनायकः सर्वाभ्युदयी सावइरिसोलेसम्बद्ध
उत्तरायणोग्रामे उभुवोसह समस्तराजपुरुषान् ब्राह्मणो-
त्तरान् प्रति निवासिपट्टकिलजनपदादींश्च बोधयति ।

अस्तु वः आषाढवदि १५ सोमे सोमवतीतीर्थे स्नात्वा
श्रीमदर्जुनवर्मदेवेन सुपुरोधसे पण्डितगोविन्दाय महा-
कालपुरमध्ये दण्डाधिपतिवासविग्रहमुदकपूर्वं प्रदत्तं
प्रतोलीप्रागारसीमापर्यन्तम् ।

संविदितं यथा श्रीभृगुकच्छसमावासितैरस्माभिः सप्त-
त्यधिकद्वादशशतसंवत्सरे वैशाखवदि अमावास्यायां
सूर्यग्रहणपर्वणि स्नात्वा भगवत्तं भवानीपतिमभ्यर्च्य
संसारस्याऽसारतां दृष्ट्वा ।

* * * * *

इति सर्वं विमृश्याऽदृष्टफलमङ्गीकृत्य मुक्तावस्थूस्था-
नविनिर्गताय वाजसनेयशाखाध्यायिने काश्यपगोत्राय
काश्यपावत्सारनैधुवेतित्रिप्रवराया ऽऽवसथिकदेल्हप्रपौ-
त्राय पण्डितसोमदेवपौत्राय पण्डितजैत्रसिंहपुत्राय पुरो-
हितगोविन्दशर्मणि ब्राह्मणाय समस्तो ऽपि ग्रामश्चतुःक-
ङ्कटविशुद्धः सवृक्षमालाकुलः सहिरण्यभागभोगः सोप-
रिकरः सर्वादायसमेतः सनिधिनिक्षेपो मातापित्रोरात्म-

नश्च पुण्यशोभिवृद्धये चन्द्रार्कार्णवक्षितिसमकालं या-
वत् परया भक्त्या शासनेनोदकपूर्वं प्रदत्तः ।

तन् मत्वा तन्निवासिपट्टकितजनपदैर्यथादीयमानभाग-
भोगकरहिरण्यादिकं देवब्राह्मणभुक्तिवर्जमाज्ञाविधेयैर्भूवा
सर्वममुष्मै दातव्यम् ।

* * * * *

संवत् १२७० वैशाखवदि १५ सोमे । दू । श्रीमु ३ ।
रचितमिदं महाराजान्धि० पं० श्रीबिल्लूणसम्मतेन राज-
गुरुणा मदनेन ।

स्वहस्तो ज्यं महाराजश्रीमदनुवर्मदेवस्य ।

उत्कीर्णं पण्डितबाण्यदेवेन ।

TRANSLATION.

* * * * *

This same sovereign, exalted over all, in respect of Ubhuyo-
saha,⁵³ in the village of Uttarāyana, appertaining to Sāvārisole,⁵⁴
advertises all royal officials, Brāhmans—the eminent, the resident
village head-man, *his* people *generally*, and others.

Be it known to you as follows: After ablution at the holy
station of Somavatī, on Monday, the fifteenth *day* of the moon's
wane in A'shādha, the auspicious Arjunavarma Deva did grant,
with prior *presentation* of water, to the excellent family priest, the
learned Govinda, a ground-plot for a temple⁵⁵ to Daṇḍādhipati,⁵⁶
extending as far as the boundary of the edifices⁵⁷ on the main
street, in the city of Mahākāla.⁵⁸

Likewise: by us; sojourning at the fortunate Bhṛigukachchha,⁵⁹
after bathing at the sacred season of a solar eclipse, at the change
of the moon, in the dark fortnight of Vaisākha, in the year
twelve hundred and seventy; *and* after worshipping the divine
consort of Bhavānī; considering the vanity of the world, *etc.*:
* * * reflecting on all this, *and* electing spiritual reward;
has, from *motives* of the greatest piety, with initiatory *gift* of water,

been granted, by patent; to augment the merit and good name of our mother, our father, and ourself; for duration coexistent with the moon, the sun, the seas, and the earth; to the domestic chaplain, the learned Govinda S'arman, Bráhmaṇ; settled at the place called Muktvasthú; reader of the Vájasaneya Vaidika subdivision; of the stock of Kas'yapa, and of the three branches, Kás'yapa, A'vatsára, and Naidhrúva; son of the learned Jaitra-sinha, grandson of the learned⁶⁰ Somadeva, and great grandson of Delha, who maintained a perpetual fire; even the entire village *aforesaid*; of which the four boundaries are defined; filled with fields containing trees; together with money-rent and share of produce, with house-tax, including all dues, and with its hidden treasure and deposits.

Mindful hereof, the local head-man of this *village*, and *our* subjects *here abiding*, observant of *our* injunction, will disburse to him, *Govinda S'arman*, all *charges*, as they fall to be paid; *to-wit*, share of produce,⁶¹ taxes, rent in money, and the rest, the perquisites of the gods and of Bráhmans excepted.

* * * * *

Done in the year 1270, on Monday, the fifteenth *day* of the dark semi-lunation of Vais'ákha.

This *was* executed by Madana, the king's spiritual guide, with the acquiescence of the learned and fortunate Bilhana, chief minister of peace and war.

This *is* the sign manual of the great king, the auspicious Arjunavarma Deva.

Incised by Bápyadeva, clerk.

NOTES.

1. In the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1836, pp. 377 etc., is a land-grant of Arjunavarman, edited and translated by the late Mr. L. Wilkinson. In a subsequent volume, that for 1838, pp. 736 etc., this gentleman writes, pointing to that instrument: "I was about to add translations also of the other two inscriptions: but, finding that they both correspond, word for word, with that formerly sent to you, in all respects but the dates—which are later, the one only by three, and the other only by five years, than that of the former inscription—and that they both record grants by the same Rájá Arjuna, translations of them would be but an idle repetition." But the correspondence is not so close as is thus asserted. The two inscriptions referred to are those now published.

2. I now redeem the promise which I once made, to demonstrate that a mistake has been committed in throwing back Udayáditya to A.D. 618. Two facsimile copies of the Udaypur inscription, which I was at much pains in getting executed, have been of material aid to me towards arriving at a determination on this point.

The person for whom that wretched scrawl was indited calls himself a descendant of Udayāditya of Mālava: but it is clear that, whether so or not, he knew nothing of Udayāditya's family. The word सूखीर—rightly, गुरुरीर—in the monument adverted to, is not the name of a king. Gondala is the first regal personage whom it notices. His son seems to be Gyátá; for which पाता has been printed; the vernacular corruption, perhaps, of ज्ञाता, nominative of ज्ञातृ. अरिबलमयन, if such be the true reading, is an epithet of the doubtful Gyátá, and, by no possibility, an appellation. Udayāditya is represented as son of the last; and he is distinctly stated to have been ruling in *Samvat* 1116, or *S'aka* 981, i. e., A. D. 1059. For four hundred and forty-six years subsequently, it is alleged, the Yavanas had been in the ascendant: and this term brings us to *Samvat* 1562, *S'aka* 1447—which should be 1427—or the year 4607—not 4669, as printed—of the *Kali-yuga*, i. e., A. D. 1506; at which time the person at whose instance the inscription was written appears to have assumed some sort of authority. Six years later, in *S'rimukha*—an item wanting to Capt. Burt's copy—or A. D. 1513, he engaged in a pious transaction in honor of Ś'iva. His name was Śāgaravarman—metamorphosed, as printed, into योगरधर्म—commonly styled Chānddeva, or Chandra Deva. Nor is Ś'ālivāhana given as son of Udayāditya.

More might be said on the present topic: but it is enough, if I have shown that we have here to do with a thing of no importance, abstracted from its liability to beget error. See the *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* for 1840, pp. 545 etc.

Professor Lassen, I am told, has accepted the inscription thus disposed of, as sufficient voucher for antedating Udayāditya some four hundred and fifty years. It is scarcely credible.

Udayāditya was, very likely, in power in A. D. 1059, however reluctantly we receive the word of such as Śāgaravarman, or his historicaster.

There is an inscription, still undeciphered, lying at Bhopal, in which occurs the name of Udayāditya. Its date is *Samvat* 1241, if I may rely on a blundering transcript of it. In another inscription, in the *Bijamandira*, a temple at the same place with the record just spoken of, an Udayāditya is mentioned, in a Sanskrit couplet, as having been king over Bhūpāla in the *S'aka* year 1108, or A. D. 1186. The words are these:

भूपाले भूमिपालो ज्यमुदयदित्यपार्थिवः ।
तेनेदं निर्मितं स्थानं वसुपूर्वोऽश्वरैः शके ॥

3. Mr. Wilkinson quietly assumes Jayavarman and Ajayavarman to be identical; though, in the inscriptions, each is said to have had a different successor: the former, Haris'chandra; and the latter, Vindhya-varman. To reconcile the discrepancy resulting from this confusion, he resorts to the theory that Haris'chandra "was only a prince of the royal family, and, as such, became possessed of an appanage, and not of the whole kingdom." This view, he thinks, is countenanced by the title of महाकुमार being given to Haris'chandra. The same term, however, but dropped in the English version, is applied to his father, Lakshmivarman;

who, it should seem, if not himself a king, was the eldest son of one. Mr. Wilkinson was unaware of this fact; not having seen, apparently, the relative inscriptions translated by Colebrooke.

Speaking of Yas'ovarman and Lakshmi-varman, Colebrooke says, as touching the latter: "He did not become his successor: for Jayavarman is, in another inscription, named immediately after Yas'ovarman; and was reigning sovereign." *Miscell. Essays*, ii. 303. But Colebrooke was unacquainted with the after-history of the family to which they belonged.

As Lakshmi-varman sat on the throne with his sire, it is reasonable to suppose that he was the first-born. His brother, Jayavarman, also speaks of himself as if a sovereign ruler. Lakshmi-varman may have died while Haris'chandra was still a child, and Jayavarman have acted as regent on behalf of his nephew, to whom the government eventually devolved from him; if they did not administer it conjointly. Yet it is noticeable that Jayavarman granted away land, at one period, precisely as if he were the sole and substantive head of the state. Possibly the extreme youth of his ward prevented his being named at that time.

Lakshmi-varman being mentioned, by his son, under the title of महाकुमार, and not as king, it may be that he deceased during the lifetime of Yas'ovarman. Haris'chandra designates himself in a similar manner, where he would certainly have called himself, without qualification, sovereign, had he laid claim to undivided power. His complete style, in fact, is that which his father used as prince regnant. Policy, or some other motive, may have dissuaded him from the style of full royalty, his hereditary right. It may, therefore, be conjectured that Jayavarman was still living in A.D. 1179.

The words in which Haris'chandra takes notice of his own accession are worthy of remark. Premising his ancestors, while he passes over his father, he mentions his uncle, and adds, of himself: एतस्मात् पुष्टतमप्रभोः प्रसादाद्व्यापन्नताधिपत्यः. In other words, he acknowledges that he had 'obtained his supreme rank by the favor of this, the very last, ruler.' Yet, notwithstanding this assertion, it will be observed that he does not unequivocally pretend to kingship. The delicacy of the distinction is truly Hindu.

If the phrase पादानुध्यात be designed to indicate the succession of a son to like dignity with his father's, a strain is put on it as regards its application to Jayavarman, provided he was not a usurper. Haris'chandra, in the body of his patent, does not say whose son he himself was: and, if he had done so, perhaps he could not have employed this formula with any more propriety; as I conceive that its strict tenor, in its most usual acceptation, is to mark connection between monarchs successively in actual possession.

Jayavarman, being son of Yas'ovarman, must have been brother—presumably, younger brother—of Lakshmi-varman and Jayavarman. His son, or grandson, came to the chief power; but how, remains to be discovered. Of offspring of Haris'chandra and Jayavarman we hear nothing.

Devadhara, entitled *rāja-putra*, or 'king's son,' is found as a subscribing witness to a donative instrument of Yas'ovarman. This is all that

can be said of him at present. It may be that he was simply a Rājput, and not of the issue of Yas'ovarman.

These speculations are founded, in part, on the presumption that the sons of Yas'ovarman were not independent masters of as many distinct territories.

See the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1836, pp. 377 etc.; and for 1838, pp. 736 etc.: also Colebrooke's Miscellaneous Essays, ii. 297 etc.

Between Vindhavarman and Subhavarman a King "Amushyāyana" is interposed by Mr. Wilkinson, who mistakes an epithet for a proper name. This and several other misinterpretations are copied, without correction, by Mr. A. K. Forbes, in his *Rās-mālā*, i. 114, 208.

I am perplexed what to make of "Wullāl, the King of Oujein," who is said to have been conquered by Kumārapāla of Gujerat. Kumārapāla's time was between A. D. 1142 and 1173. Can it be that Ballāla—as I should spell the word—was another name of Jayavarman? See the *Rās-mālā*, i. 184–187.

That Naravarman ruled as early as A. D. 1107, we have the evidence of an inscription on marble, seen by Col. Tod. Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, i. 223, 226.

4. श्रीवर्धमानपुरसमावासात् : "from his abode at the auspicious Vardhamānapura:" an improbable idiom. Miscell. Essays, ii. 307, 309. Colebrooke's facsimile of his original leads me to believe that the right reading is श्रीवर्धमानपुरसमावासो ऽत्र : 'here, resident at the auspicious Vardhamānapura.' The ऽत्र is unmistakable; and, as the *ardhākāra* was not to be expected, there wants nothing, to bring out my wording, but the stroke which converts *ā* into *o*.

5. This is, probably, either the original, or the Sanskritized form, of the present Māndū. We have the same word, I presume, in Kāṭh-māndu, usually derived from Kāṣṭhamandira. Whether *maṇḍapa* ever means 'city,' I am unable to say. If it does, like *pattana* and *nagara*, its synonymes, it has come to be an appellation. Compare *πόλις* in the vulgar Romaic 'ς *τῆς πόλης*, Stambol, or Constantinople.

6. Mr. Wilkinson errs in understanding that Haris'chandra issues a patent "from his capital of Nīlagiri." The document recites that Nīlagiri was the district—*maṇḍala*—in which the land alienated was situate.

7. According to Hindu conception, the purpose of life is fourfold : virtue, wealth, gratification of the senses, and final blessedness. I know of no warrant for considering the third, or काम, to imply "love of God," as Colebrooke explains it on one occasion. Digest of Hindu Law etc. (8vo. edition), ii. 382.

There is something peculiar in the salutations of nearly all the edicts, hitherto discovered, of the later rulers of Mālava. In one of the grants published by Colebrooke, we find श्रीजय्यो ऽयुदयश्च, "auspicious victory and elevation." Another of them has श्रीर्जयो ऽयुदयश्च, 'auspiciousness, victory, and elevation.' Colebrooke seems silently to have departed, here, from his facsimile. See his Miscell. Essays, ii. 307, 308.

8. Mr. Wilkinson changes प्रतिबिम्बनिभादू to प्रतिबिम्बतया. Imagining the couplet to be pregnant with puns, he translates it in three different ways. The true sense which would come in place of that which he ranks as principal is, however, defeated by reading प्रतिबिम्बतया; however we might then find something, in the verses, about eclipses of the moon; the writer of them being assumed to hold the rational opinions of Bhāskara A'chārya concerning the cause of those phenomena. But it is impossible, on either lection, to extort from the passage anything applicable to the serpent Śeṣha.

The moon—but not here—is sometimes called द्वितेन्द्र or द्वितराज, 'chief of the twice-born.' Its primary emanation from the eye of Atri counts as birth the first; and its extraction from the sea of milk, into which it was cast, is its second birth.

The nineteen stanzas which commence my original are in every wise identical with as many at the beginning of the inscription translated by Mr. Wilkinson in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1836, pp. 377 etc. I write with a copy before me, in manuscript, taken from his facsimile.

9. Such is a literal rendering of the scarcely less awkward original.

Warriors who fall in battle are supposed, by the Hindus, to reach Paradise through the sun.

Mr. Wilkinson, by two bold strokes, alters the Sanskrit entirely: and, after all, he entirely misapprehends the drift of his alteration. After correcting an obvious error of the press, लुपया for लुपया, his reading will run thus:

त्रीयात् परमुरामो ऽसौ क्षत्रैः लुपया रपाहतैः ।

सन्ध्यार्कबिम्बमेयोर्वी दातुर्यस्यैति ताम्रताम् ॥

His English of this is in these words: "May that Paras'urāma, who gave to the Brāhmins the whole earth, after it had become red as the setting sun, being drenched in the blood of the race of Kshatriyas prostrated in terrible conflicts, ever be praised." I should be disposed to substitute as follows: 'May he, Paras'urāma, be exalted; of whom, munificent, the earth—as measurable by the sun's disk throughout the turns of the day—worn by Kshatras slain in strife, assumed a coppery tint.'

10. Mr. Wilkinson turns the plurals धृताः and पादाः of the original into duals, धृतो and पादो. The latter are more nicely exact, in the article of grammar; but the former are held to be more respectful.

11. Kansajit, 'the conqueror of Kansa,' is Kṛishṇa. As none, however, but the initiated, will be likely to look into such a paper as the present, I may dispense with indications of this sort. Hence many of the historical allusions are also left unexplained.

12. With the latter line of this stanza Mr. Wilkinson takes something of a liberty, in transforming it to:

श्रीभोजदेव इत्यासीदासीमक्रान्तभूतलः

Bhojadeva is thus made to have 'subjugated the face of the earth to its borders.' The old rendering of the above is: "He traversed the earth, in victory, even to its ocean limits."

13. The meaning is, that, since the influence of Bhoja reached to the ends of terrestrial space, all opposition vailed before him.

There is a species of lotos which shuts at night-fall.

In this couplet the earth is supposed to terminate in rugged declivities.

Mr. Wilkinson alters यद्यश्चन्द्रिकोद्योति to यद्यश्चन्द्रिकोदिति.

14. The second half of this couplet palters with several words, to this effect: 'how many towering mountains, impregnable from *their* escarpments, were not eradicated?'

15. Here, again, Mr. Wilkinson arbitrarily innovates, in putting भिन्न- for द्विन्न-, 'broken' for 'cleft.'

The 'limit of princes' denotes their ne plus ultra.

16. My authority for representing पद by 'share' is an inscription published by me in another volume of this Journal (vi. 542 etc.).

17. In the original, गुर्तर. And so the word seems to be written quite as often as गुर्तर. Still the latter alone is reputed correct.

18. The Sanskrit is here peculiar; the idiom employed being of very questionable purity.

19. This is the term which, as mentioned above, Mr. Wilkinson promotes to the name of a king. It is the adjective of अमुष्यायणा, 'son of somebody,' an hidalgo, a eupatrid.

20. Or Analavata; vulgarly, Anhilwára. Without much demur, we should so understand the word; allowance being made for a fraudulent vaunt. But it would be just as permissible to render 'in the cities.' The ambiguity of the Sanskrit looks as if intentional.

According to Mr. Forbes, Subhatavarman contemplated an incursion into Gujerat, in the time of Bhíma II, but did not carry his design into execution. His son, it is said, was more successful. *Rás-mála*, i. 208.

Mr. Wilkinson, at the cost of sense and grammar, puts दावाग्निसुमन for दावाग्निक्रान्ता.

21. This implies a death of happy hopes; absorption into deity, and hence identification with him.

22. The frivolous equivoques of the original appear sufficiently in the English, without the necessity of comment.

23. There is a difficulty here: but, with the aid of Mr. Forbes, it may, perhaps, be solved.

Jayasinha of Gujerat—taking for granted that he is intended—reigned in A. D. 1093–1142 or 1144; whereas A. D. 1210 and 1215 are among the ascertained regnal years of Arjunavarman. But Bhíma II, whose date is A. D. 1178–1214, is called, in one inscription, "a second Siddharāja;" Siddharāja having been the title of one of Jayasinha's ancestors. May not Bhíma have been popularly called "a second Jayasinha" also? If so, there was a taunting appositeness in Arjuna's choosing to give him this designation, dropping the qualification of "second;" since the real Jayasinha aggressed on Málava, took Dhárá by storm,

defeated Arjuna's predecessor, Yas'ovarman, and carried him captive to Analavaṭa. *Rās-mālā*, i. 66, 113, 114, 208.

In the inscription which Mr. Forbes speaks of at p. 66, Jayasinha appears as conqueror of "Wurwurk, the lord of Oojein;" meaning Yas'ovarman. Does "Wurwurk," (partly owing to the printer), stand for Varmārka, 'the sun of Kshatriyas?' What Mr. Forbes writes at p. 116 has not passed unnoticed.

Col. Tod says that Siddharāja—his Siddharāja—took Naravarman prisoner, after seizing his capital. He adds that Siddharāja "ruled from *Samvat* 1150 to *Samvat* 1201." Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society, i. 222. Greatly preferring to trust Mr. Forbes, I believe that Col. Tod has mixed up Naravarman with Yas'ovarman.

24. That is to say, elephantry, cavalry, and infantry. In ancient times, chariots were added as a fourth arm. They must have been disused long before the thirteenth century.

Mr. Wilkinson changes येन to तेन.

25. Renown, in the Hindu typology, is of a white color.

There is a play on the word धवलत्व, which means both 'whiteness' and 'purity,' 'fairness.'

These stanzas, which are in the *pathyāvakra* measure, are, even in Hindu estimation, of rather indifferent fabric. A number of their allusions, as being of commonplace occurrence, have been left unannotated. Alike in these verses and in the rest of the inscription, the engraver of the plate has here and there omitted a *visarga*, and has substituted the dental sibilant for the palatal. All errors of greater moment than these are specially pointed out.

26. *Pratijāgarāṇaka*, in the original. I have remarked, in a previous paper (see this *Journal*, vi. 531, n. 38), on the word *patṭalā*, which I take to intend a canton or commune. That this term and *pratijāgarāṇaka* are synonymes, I am indisposed to believe without further proof; especially since the latter is used as if it were the subdivision of a kingdom, next inferior to the *maṇḍala* or province. See the *Journal* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal for 1838, p. 737; and for 1836, p. 379.

Sir H. M. Elliot, discussing the antiquity of the word *pargana*, as a geographical technicality, says that it is found so employed "even on an inscription dated A. D. 1210, discovered at Piplianugur in Bhopal;" and he adds a reference to the second of the land-grants just indicated. Supplemental Glossary, p. 186. Had Sir Henry taken the trouble to turn back a leaf, he would have seen that Mr. Wilkinson's "*pargana*" was only meant as a substitute for the Sanskrit *pratijāgarāṇaka*.

27. I here take *prati* to be a preposition; though, as such, it is superfluous in its place in the sentence. It may be a distributive prefix; and, in that case, must not stand independent.

28. Colebrooke, in haste, twice renders *brāhmaṇottarān* by "Brāhmaṇas and others." *Miscell. Essays*, ii. 303, 309.

29. *Paṭṭakila*, which, Colebrooke says, "is probably the *Paṭṭāil* of the moderns." *Miscell. Essays*, ii. 303. Professor Wilson could scarcely

have remembered this observation, when he set down *pátīl* as the original form of the word, and wrote of it as follows: "the term is principally current in the countries inhabited by, or subject to, the Marāṭhas, and appears to be an essential Marāṭhi word, being used as a respectful title in addressing one of that nation, or a Śúdra in general: it may be derived from *Pát*, a water-course, the supply of water being fitly under the care of the chief person of the village; or from *Pat*, a register or roll (of the inhabitants, etc.) of the village." Glossary of Indian Terms, pp. 407, 408.

It is at least plausible to suppose that *pattakila* is a depravation, by metathesis, of *pattalika*. It may, then, be allied to *pattalá*, 'canton'; which, likely enough, besides being the same with *paṭala*, was also written *pattalá*: as we have both *pattana* and *paṭṭana* for 'city.'

If this be tenable, the jurisdiction of the *pattakila* may have been wider formerly than it is at present; though a functionary of this sort sometimes has, even in our day, three or four villages under him. Accordingly, by the phrase '*pattakila* of such and such village' would be understood an officer holding certain authority over the shire of country in which it was comprehended.

Otherwise, if we connect *pattakila* with *paṭala*, 'the filing of suits,' it may have denoted the magistrate presiding over a court of primary instance.

There is still much to determine as to what is imported by *paṭṭa* and several of its real or apparent conjugates, when employed relatively to matters judicial.

30. This place has not been identified, any more than several others specified in this inscription and in that which follows. The phallus of Amares'wara lies to the west of Mount Paryanka, according to the 26th chapter of the *Revá-máhātmya*. Mount Paryanka is son of Vindhya, in mythology.

31. This junction is east of the Vaidúrya mountain, in Dharmāranya, at Siddhimanwantara. It lies to the north of the Revá, or Narmadá. The Kapilá takes its rise in the highlands of Khandesh, and disembogues opposite the temple of Onkára-mandhátá, a little to the east of the "Churar." It arose from the water used at a sacrifice performed by King Vasudána. Great is the merit of dying at the confluence of the Revá and Kapilá. Again:

रेवातटेषु ये वृक्षाः पतिताः कालपयये ।

नर्मदातोयसंस्पृष्टास्ते ऽपि यान्ति परां गतिम् ॥

That is to say, so efficacious is the holiness of the Narmadá, at all points throughout its length, that the very trees sprinkled by its spray are pronounced to be secure of future beatitude. *Revá-máhātmya*, chapters 1-15, et alibi.

32. This is S'iva.

33. In the original, the *anuswára* is wanting over the last syllable of this word. Onkára, or 'the syllable *Om*,' is, among the S'aivas, the sensible type of S'iva; among the Vaishnavas, of Vāsudeva or Vishṇu.

34. I suspect that the engraver had before him, in his written exemplar, चक्रपाणि. He has cut चक्रस्वामिनं, which, though it cannot be called altogether inadmissible, is yet anomalous.

35. These verses I have translated in other inscriptions. Their metre is the *Vasantatilakā*.

36. Colebrooke mistakes this expression, पर्या भक्त्या, for पर्या भुक्त्या, "to be fully possessed." *Miscell. Essays*, ii. 308, 310.

37. This name and several others to follow are misprinted in the first inscription published by Mr. Wilkinson.

38. The white *Yajur-veda*.

39. There are three such, named from Naidhruva, Raibha, and S'āṇḍila. The first is here denoted.

40. *A'vasathika*. See Colebrooke's *Miscell. Essays*, ii. 305, foot-note 24.

41. *Chatuḥ-kankatā-vis'uddha*. This expression is found, among other places, in one of the inscriptions published and translated by Colebrooke. But he forgets to translate it. *Miscell. Essays*, ii. 301, 305. The more common phrase is *chatur-āghatā-vis'uddha*. *Kankatā*, in the sense of 'boundary,' is not in any dictionary that I have been able to consult.

42. *Sa-vriksha-mālākula*. Colebrooke resolves this combination into *māla*, 'field,' and *kula*, 'abode.' He adds that "the passage may admit a different interpretation." The hint proposed by Col. Tod is little to the purpose. *Miscell. Essays*, ii. 305, 306.

In the note here cited, Colebrooke gives the Sanskrit word in question for 'field' correctly. But he considers *kula* to be annexed to it; thus lengthening it to *mālā*; for which there is no warrant. The last member of the compound is *ākula*, 'filled.' For this acceptance of the verb *kula* with the prefix *ā*, as it is omitted in Professor Westergaard's *Radices Sanscritæ*, see my edition of the *Vāsavadattā*, p. 249, first line, in the *Bibliotheca Indica* of the Asiatic Society of Bengal; and the *Das'a-rūpaka*, iii. 49.

43. "Superior taxes." Colebrooke's *Miscellaneous Essays*, ii. 312. Both renderings are tentative.

Mr. Wilkinson turns सोपरिकर into सोपस्कर.

44. Colebrooke calls a passage, almost word for word like this, a "stanza." *Miscell. Essays*, ii. 306; where he refers to another reading of it, at p. 313 *ibid*. Neither of them can be reduced to any prosodial measure.

The formula in the text has a number of shapes in prose: and it is not unusual to find something of the same kind in metre. One version runs thus :

तदंशज्ञाः परमहीपतिवंशज्ञा वा
पापादपेतमनसो भुवि भाविभूयाः ।
ये पात्यन्ति मम धर्ममिमं हि सर्वे
तेभ्यो मया विरचितो ऽञ्जलिरेण मूर्ध्नि ॥

‘To all future kings on earth, sprung from my race, or descendants of other monarchs, with hearts free from wickedness, I clasp my hands to my head, *praying* that they will uphold this my virtuous deed.’

I quote the ensuing verses from Colebrooke’s *Miscell. Essays*, ii. 311 :

अस्मत्कुलक्रममुदारमुदाहरद्भिः
अन्यैश्च दानमिदमभ्यनुमोदनीयम् ।
लक्ष्म्यास्तडिलयबुद्बुदतुन्दिलाया
दानं फलं पर्यग्राःपरिपालनं च ॥

‘This donation ought to be approved by those who exemplify the hereditary liberality of our race, and by others. The flash of lightning from Lakshmi swoln with the raindrop, is gift ; and the fruit is preservation of another’s fame.’

This import, by the bye, cannot even be extorted from the Sanskrit. Colebrooke annotates : “I have here hazarded a conjectural emendation ; being unable to make sense of the text, as it stands. Perhaps the transcriber had erroneously written *tundalā* for *tundilā* ; and the engraver, by mistake, transformed it into the unmeaning *vandalā*, which the text exhibits. Lakshmi is here characterized as a thunder-cloud pregnant with fertilizing rain.”

But the facsimile has, with tolerable distinctness : -चंचलाया. I therefore construe as follows : ‘This donation—a gift of fortune, fugitive as is the lightning’s flash, or as a bubble—and its fruit, and the preservation of another’s fame, should be respected by those who exemplify the munificent practice of our family, and by others.’

45. These four stanzas have often before been translated, and by myself among others. The full intent of the first couplet is something more than I formerly apprehended.

46. A common addition to the above is in these words :

कृमियोनिं ततो गत्वा चापडलेष्वभिजायते ।

‘Then *he* is born in the insect tribe, and *subsequently* among out-castes.’

Similar denunciations are forthcoming in great variety. A selection of them is here presented :

विन्ध्याटवीष्वतोयासु शुष्ककोटरप्रायिनः ।
कृष्णाह्वो ऽभिजायन्ते भूमिदानापहारिणः ॥

‘Resumers of land-gifts are produced anew, *in another birth*, as black serpents, lying in arid hollows of trees, in the waterless wilds of the Vindhya.’

अन्यायेन हृता भूमिरन्यायेन तु हारिता ।
हृतो हारयतश्च दहत्यासप्तमं कुलम् ।

‘Land appropriated inequitably, or inequitably caused to be appropriated, burns, to the seventh generation, the usurper and his agent.’

आरामाणां सहस्रैश्च तडागानां शतैरपि ।

गवां कोटिप्रदानेन भूमिहर्ता न तुष्यति ।

‘Not by *laying out* thousands of gardens, nor even by *excavating* hundreds of reservoirs, nor by the donation of ten millions of cows, is happiness assured to the confiscator of land.’

Menace and the converse are, in some cases, propounded together :

प्रसृत्याऽसम्प्रदानेन दत्तस्याऽऽहर्षणेन च ।

जन्मप्रभृति यद् दत्तं तत् सर्वं निष्फलं भवेत् ॥

कल्पकोटिसहस्राणि कल्पकोटिशतानि च ।

निवसेद् ब्रह्मणो लोके भूमिदानं ददाति यः ॥

‘By withholding after promise, or by usurping what has been bestowed, all the *benefactions* conferred since one’s birth become ineffectual.

‘He, *on the other hand*, that grants away land will abide in the sphere of Brahmá myriads of millions of cycles, or thousands of millions.’

But it is the sacerdotal class in especial which the priests would ensure from dispossession :

न विषं विषमित्याहुर्ब्रह्मस्त्वं विषमुच्यते ।

विषमेकाकिनं हन्ति ब्रह्मस्त्वं पुत्रपौत्रकम् ॥

‘Poison, it is said, is not *properly* poison ; *but* a Bráhmán’s property, *wrongfully occupied*, is *justly* so denominated : *for ordinary* poison destroys but one ; *whereas* the property of a Bráhmán, *illegally appropriated*, ruins one’s children and grandchildren, *as well as one’s self*.’

इह हि जलदलीलाचञ्चले जीवलोके

तृणमिव लघुसारे सर्वसंसारसौख्ये ।

अपहर्तु दुराशः शासनं ब्राह्मणानां

नरकगहनगर्तावर्तपातोत्सुको यः ॥

‘Trifling, in substance, as grass, is all the happiness of life, in *this* world of animation, transitory as the play of the clouds. *Sensible of this*, let that evil-minded *person* who longs to fall into the whirlpools of hell’s profound abysses deprive Bráhmans of *their* patents.’

The superior virtue of maintaining ancient assignments is thus insisted on :

साक्षाद् दानं निरायासं सायासं दीर्घपालनम् ।

अत एवर्षयः प्राहुर्दानाद् भूयो ऽनुपालनम् ॥

‘A gift outright involves no trouble ; *but* long guardianship is burdensome. Hence the sages have declared that protection, *as earning merit*, surpasses alienation.’

Finally, the praise and the meed of liberality in general are quaintly delivered in these three stanzas :

अग्नेरपत्यं प्रथमं सुवर्णं भूर्वैष्णवी सूर्यसुताश्च गावः ।
 लोकत्रयं तेन भवेच्च दत्तं यः काञ्चनं गां च महीं च दद्यात् ॥
 यावन्ति सस्यमूलानि गोरोमाणि च सर्वशः ।
 नरस्तावन्ति वर्षाणि सूर्यलोके महीयते ॥
 आस्फोटयन्ति पितरः प्रबलन्ति पितामहाः ।
 भूमिदोऽस्मत्कुले ज्ञातः स्वकुलं तारयिष्यति ॥

‘Gold is the chief offspring of fire; the earth appertains to Vishnu; and milch cattle are progeny of the sun. He, *therefore*, who gives away gold, kine, and land, bestows *what will ensure him the benefit of* the three worlds.

‘For years as many as the roots of the stalks of all crops, and as the hairs of all cattle, will *that* man be honored in the solar sphere.

‘His parents clap their hands, *and* his *remoter* progenitors augment in vigor, *saying*: “A giver of land has appeared in our family, *and* will work its redemption.”’

47. A portion of the stanza which here begins has been rendered by the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, and in a way which well exemplifies the sciolism of a certain section of Sanskrit scholars of the old school. His version is as follows: “Thus [departed he] who was nothing less than the friend of all (Vishnu), contemplating the goddess of eloquence and prosperity, as she resembled a drop of pure water resting on the leaf of the lotus; and at the same time guarding the life of man.” Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, for April, 1842; No. iv, p. 154. Dr. Stevenson’s original ended with सकलमि-, to which he must have mentally subjoined त्र, in order to make out his “friend,” मित्र.

48. These verses likewise conclude one of the inscriptions published by Colebrooke. Where they have च बुद्धा he finds a difficulty in his original, on which he remarks: “चनुधा, in the text, is an evident mistake; it should undoubtedly be बहुधा.” Miscellaneous Essays, ii. 313, foot-note. This positiveness is a little unfortunate; as बहुधा sins against the metre, the *Pushpitāgrā*.

The inscription just now referred to is one of three, published in the original, with English versions, by Colebrooke, in his Miscell. Essays, ii. 297-314. Together with transcripts of these records, in the ordinary Devanāgarī, Colebrooke has given facsimile impressions of them. An examination of the latter has discovered that the learned decipherer has scarcely made them out with unflinching accuracy. The following corrections, supplementary to those which I have already noted, are confined to the more important errors, dependent on a wrong apprehension of characters. Hence I pass by the misrendering of तन्वन्तु etc., at pp. 302 and 309.

P. 300, l. 11. For समभूतिषयिक-, “inhabiting,” read समस्तविषयिक-. See lower down the inscription, at p. 301, l. 19. The village head-men and others, ‘throughout the entire realm,’ are addressed. Colebrooke’s

reading gives no sense. The case of the word which precedes the expression is not the genitive, but the locative of relation.

P. 300, l. 19. For समीकुश- substitute प्रसीकुश-. I remark this inadvertence, slight as it is, because Mr. Wilkinson, misled by the dental sibilant, puts समित्कुश-.

P. 301, l. 10. In lieu of -द्विविद्- the facsimile has -द्विवेद्-. Colebrooke says, in a note: "*Dwivid* is one who studies two *vedas*: as *Trivid*, one who studies three." It is not so: and, moreover, the word in the text does not end in a consonant. Had it so ended, its final *d* would have become *t*. Colebrooke was thinking of *dwivedin* and *trivedin*. *Dwiveda* is an unusual equivalent of the first.

At p. 308, l. 13-15, is a couplet, printed thus:

भ्रमत्संसारवल्गाग्रधाराधारामिमां श्रियम् ।

प्राप्य ये न दयुस्तेषां पञ्चात्तापः परं कल्मषम् ॥

"Having gained prosperity, which is the receptacle of the skips and bounds of a revolving world, whoever give not donations, repentance is their chief reward."

To this interpretation a note is appended: "*Valgāgra-dhārā-dhārā*: an allusion is probably intended to *Dhārā*, the seat of government of this dynasty. *Valga* signifies a leap; and *dhārā*, a horse's pace."

In order to bring out a very different result, we have only to restore the right reading, by putting चक्र for वल्ग, 'a wheel,' not "a leap." The translation will then run: 'Having gained prosperity, whose abode is the rim at the top of the wheel of the revolving world,' etc.

दयुस्तेषां is, of course, a printer's mistake for ददुस्तेषां; as दयुः, besides not being in the original, violates the measure of the verse, and is no word.

As for वल्ग for चक्र, Colebrooke had said, at p. 237: "the *Nūgarī* letters व and च" are "very liable to be confounded." He might have added व. On his reading चराचरगुहं into वरावरगुहं, I have remarked elsewhere. See this Journal, vi. 532.

49. The mystical letters and numeral which here follow, in the Sanskrit, I must leave even as I found them. They occur again in this paper. Colebrooke ventures no explanation of the first, which is in one of the inscriptions by him deciphered. *Miscell. Essays*, ii. 311. दू might stand for दूतक 'ambassador,' 'deputy;' but that does not help us: and there is a cyclical year entitled *S'rimukha*, which might be shortly represented by श्रीमु; but neither does this hint an admissible explanation, since the same abbreviation is found in both the inscriptions, though dating from different years.

50. Depraved from Rājasalakṣhaṇa.

51. Expressed by an abbreviation of महासान्धिविग्रहिक. And so at the end of the next inscription as well.

52. The portions of this inscription which are identically common to it with the last are not repeated.

53. This word has no case-ending in the original. The place was, probably, a ward, or a precinct.

54. Perhaps this means 'the sixteen *villages* of Sávañri.' सोले closely approximates to the vernacular corruption of पोडण. For an aggregation of villages similar to that here surmised, see Colebrooke's *Miscell. Essays*, ii. 309.

55. I thus translate वासविग्रह, with submission to the amendment of others.

56. 'The primate of the mace;' S'iva.

57. So signify अगार and अगार; and so, on supposition, does प्रगार.

58. This is the city of Ujjayini. Its temple of Mahákála has long been famous. Mention is made of it in the 103d chapter of the *Revá-máhátmya*.

59. This place is considered to be one with Bherá Ghát, on the Nerbudda, a few miles from Jubulpoor.

60. On the plate, पण्डित is abridged of its final letter. At the end of the inscription, the place of the same letter, in this word, is supplied by a vertical stroke.

61. Without hesitation, I have exchanged भोगभोग for भागभोग.

Saugor, Central India, October, 1853.